

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 3444

NODIS/CHEROKEE FOR THE SECRETARY DELIVER OPENING BUSINESS SEPT. 18.

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: CURRENT ATMOSPHERE IN TANZANIA

1. SUMMARY: CURRENT INDICATIONS HERE ARE THAT ELEMENTS WHICH PRODUCED NEGATIVE STRAIN IN TANZANIAN SIDE OF SECRETARY'S SEPTEMBER 14-16 VISIT ARE PRETTY WELL PLAYED OUT. SEPTEMBER 20-21 VISIT IS LOOKED FORWARD TO AND SHOULD BE USEFUL, ALTHOUGH CONCLUSIVE RESULTS UNLIKELY. END SUMMARY

2. ON THE BASIS VARIETY OF REACTIONS HERE, I BELIEVE THE NEGATIVE STRAIN EVINCED BY NYERERE DURING YOUR SEPTEMBER 14-16 VISIT TO TANZANIA GREW OUT OF COMBINATION OF FOLLOWING FACTORS:

(A) NYERERE'S DESIRE TO APPEAR TO FELLOW AFRICANS AND TO HARDLINE ELEMENTS IN TANZANIA NOT TO BE GETTING TOO CLOSE TO AMERICANS.

(B) HIS EXPECTATION THAT YOU WOULD BE BRINGING AN ALREADY AGREED MAJOR STEP FORWARD FROM VORSTER. (AS PUAL BOMANI PUT IT: "MWALIMU SAW EACH LETTER FROM SECRETARY AND EACH VISIT BY ROGERS AND SCHAUFLE AS SMALL STEP AHEAD. HE WAS DISAPPOINTED WHEN YOU DID NOT ARRIVE WITH GIANT STEP.")

(C) DESPITE HIS ALLEGED DISTAIN FOR TACTICS, NYERERE DID WANT TO SEE HOW MUCH HE COULD RAISE THE ANTE NOW THAT US AND YOU PERSONALLY ARE SO DEFINITELY INVOLVED,

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(D) THERE ARE SOME GENUINE LUCUNAE IN NYERERE'S THINKING.

FOR EXAMPLE (AGAIN ACCORDING TO BOMANI), NYERERE HAS BEEN ASSUMING THAT A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WOULD INEVITABLY BE INVOLVED FOR NAMIBIA AND THUS A ROLE WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UN, ONE TO TURN OVER AND THE OTHER TO SUPERVISE THE TERMS OF THE TURNOVER. NYERERE HAS NEVER EVEN THOUGHT ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A MORE DIRECT AND ABRUPT TRANSFER OF POWER, E.G. SOUTH AFRICA SIMPLY WASHING ITS HANDS OF NAMIBIA AND LETTING THE UN PLAY GODFATHER TO THE NEW STATE OR SOUTH AFRICA REFUSING TO HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE UN AND HANDING OVER TO SOME COALITION OF NAMIBIANS IN WHICH SWAPO COULD HAVE A MAJOR ROLE,

(E) NYERERE'S APPARENTLY CONFUSED REACTION TO (1) YOUR MENTION OF BEN BELLA, WHICH HE ALLEGEDLY INTERPRETED AS A POSSIBLE SIGN OF US RETREAT ON THE PRISONER RELEASE ISSUE, AND (2) A REFERENCE TO CHIEF KAPUUO WHICH HE PROFESSED TO SEE AS A POSSIBLE PULLING BACK ON US ACCEPTANCE OF SWAPO PREDOMINANCE. HE SUPPOSEDLY SAW SUCH REFERENCES ALSO AS A TESTING OF HOW MUCH HE WAS PREPARED TO GIVE AWAY. HE PROFESSED ALSO TO FEAR THAT YOU WERE HOLDING BACK SOMETHING FROM HIM.

(F) A FEELING THAT HE HAD SOMEHOW BEEN PUT ON THE DEFENSIVE BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS IN THEIR REPORTING BEFORE YOUR ARRIVAL AND IN THEIR MEETING WITH HIM, TOGETHER WITH AN AWARENESS THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN AT HIS BEST IN HIS SEPTEMBER 15 PRESS CONFERENCE. (IN FACT, A READING OF THE TRANSCRIPT SUGGESTS THAT, SUBSTANCE APART, IT WAS A POOR PERFORMANCE FOR HIM.)

2. NYERERE IS PROBABLY STILL SENSITIVE TO SOME OF THESE FACTORS, AND ANY HANG-UPS HE MAY HAVE ARE UNLIKELY TO BE HELPED BY THE PEOPLE HE MEETS SEPTEMBER 17-20 IN GUINEA-BASSAU OR ANY TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS HE MAY HAVE WITH MAPUTO AND OTHER RADICAL CAPITALS. AND, IN ANY EVENT, HE IS NOT GOING TO COMPLETELY GIVE OVER TRYING TO TEST US. HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO TWO SEPARATE SOURCES WHO WERE WITH HIM WHEN HE TALKED ON THE TELEPHONE TO KAUNDA SEPTEMBER 17, HIS CONFIDENCE AND SELF-ESTEEM HAVE BEEN BOLSTERED BY WHATEVER KAUNDA SAID TO HIM, AND IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT ONE OF THE FEW UNQUALIFIED STATEMENTS IN HIS GENERALLY DISCOURAGING PRESS CONFERENCE ON SEPTEMBER 15 WAS THE FINAL SENTENCES: "IF I THOUGHT THERE WAS

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NO POSSIBILITY OF GOOD COMING OUT OF DR. KISSINGER'S INTERVENTION, I WOULD NOT HAVE WELCOMED HIM TO DAR ES SALAAM. I THINK I HAVE MADE THAT QUITE CLEAR."

4. AS FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE SEPTEMBER 17, NYERERE WAS PERSONALLY AND HELPFULLY INVOLVED IN SCHEDULING ARRANGEMENTS FOR YOUR NEXT VISIT. (PROPOSED SCENARIO SEPTTEL). I THINK IT IS A SAFE BET THAT NYERERE IS LOOKING FORWARD EAGERLY

TO WHATEVER NEWS YOU BRING FROM SOUTH AFRICA, THAT HE IS EXPECTING LESS THAN BEFORE, AND THAT (AS RAMPHAL PUT IT) HE MAY BE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A PROCESS AND A PLAN. WHATEVER LAY BEHIND THE NEGATIVE TONE EARLIER THIS WEEK, I THINK IT UNLIKELY HE WILL SOUND MANY OF THE SAME NOTES AGAIN, FEELING THAT HE HAS ALREADY PROTECTED HIS REAR AND NOT WANTING TO TAKE A CHANCE ON LOSING U.S. INVOLVEMENT--OR PERHAPS EVEN INSPIRING US TO RETURN TO PRE-LUSAKA SPEECH POSTURE--BY CONTINUED INTRANSIGENCE. TO GUESS AT ALL IS RASH, BUT IF I HAD TO, I'D GUESS AGAINST ANY SIGNIFICANT DEMONSTRATIONS AND AGAINST ANOTHER NEGATIVE PRESS CONFERENCE BY NYERERE (WHICH IS NOT TO SAY WE NEED EXPECT A GOOD PRESS).

5. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I BELIEVE YOUR APPARENT DECISION NOT TO PLAN A THIRD VISIT TO TANZANIA THIS TRIP (OF WHICH WE HAVE GIVEN NO INDICATION TO TANZANIANS AS YET) IS THE RIGHT ONE. SUDDEN UNDERSTANDING OF A KIND THAT MIGHT MAKE SUCH A TRIP USEFUL MAY STILL BE POSSIBLE, BUT I BELIEVE WHAT WE SHOULD EXPECT THIS TIME AROUND IS A STILL NERVOUS BUT WISER--AND NOT NECESSARILY SADDER--NYERERE WHO WILL BE INTERESTED IN DIGESTING THE RESULTS OF YOUR CURRENT TRIP, CARRYING ON SOME MORE DISCUSSION BY DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, AND LOOKING FORWARD TO ANOTHER MAJOR PERSONAL EFFORT BY YOU IN A MONTH OR SO.
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